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THE MARYLAND CHARTER AND THE EARLY EXPLORATIONS OF THAT PROVINCE

Cecil (or Cecilius) Calvert^{1*} succeeded his father as second Lord Baltimore in 1632, and to him was given the Charter of Maryland, which had been prepared for his father, the first Proprietary of the Province. Cecil was then twenty-six years old, and had been married three years to Lady Anne Arundel, daughter of Lord Arundel of Wardour. He had been entered at Trinity College, Oxford, in 1621, when but fifteen years old, but probably did not graduate there. Of his early life we know nothing more, and but little of his later history. Unlike his father, he did not seek public life, but confined his energies to the care of the Province, which was given him in June, 1632, about two months after his father's death.

To the grant of the Charter of Maryland² objections were filed, doubtless by the Virginians, on June 20th, the date of the grant. These objections were in three classes. First came matters of law: that the territory stated as inhabited by savages had formerly been occupied by Englishmen sent over by the London Company; that no reservation was made of writs of error to the King; that no particular Bishop of Durham was named, and the rights of those bishops had been changed by statute; and that the territory granted was within the limits defined in the Virginia Charter of 1606. The second class of objections is headed "inconveniences," and states: that Baltimore may make denizens of aliens, savages, or enemies by grants of land in fee simple; that he may make peace and war, and thus embroil all the Colonies; that he has a general power to transport persons which contravenes the statutes against fugitives; that he may furnish the Indians with arms to the detriment of the other Colonies; that by grants of land and honors he may dispeople the King's Colony and people his with persons who may be different in religion; that his power to prevent private trade with the Indians will disable all planters and discourage

* See Appendix at conclusion of this article for Reference Notes.

all adventurers; that the "royal and imperial power" granted may be very dangerous in a Colony so far removed from England; and that the "power of putting toll upon the people in all parts, though it be with their consent," is dangerous. The third class of objections comprises a series of claims that the Charter contravenes the private rights of "particular persons of the old Company," which rights had been confirmed when the Charter was taken away.

The Charter of Maryland³ passed the seals on June 20th, 1632, and created Cecil Calvert, second Lord Baltimore, the first Proprietary of the Province of Maryland. The fact that the dignity of Province was given to the new territory has always been a source of pride to its residents. This dignity, with almost all the provisions of the Charter, was borrowed from the Charter of Avalon. It is a tradition that when a name was sought for the Province, as that of Carolina was already engrossed by Heath's Grant to the South of Virginia, that of Mariana was suggested, in honor of Henrietta Maria, the Queen of England. That word had been the name of a Spanish Jesuit, and so was rejected, and the final decision preserved the honor given the Queen by calling the country Terra Mariæ — Maryland. The boundaries of Maryland included the whole territory east of the Chesapeake and north of Watkins' Point, the south part of New Jersey and the islands within ten leagues of the shore as far as "that part of the Bay of Delaware on the north which lieth under the fortieth degree of north latitude from the æquinotial where New England is terminated." Along that parallel the boundary ran to the "true meridian of the first fountain of the river of Pattowmack," thence it turned to the south, "unto the farther bank of said river, down to its mouth and across the bay," by the shortest line to Watkins' Point." We shall find that a large part of the Province's history is the record of the unsuccessful effort of Maryland to retain these boundaries.

The land was given Cecil Calvert because "he was treading in the steps of his father," and, using the exact words of the Avalon Charter, the region granted was said to be in a country hitherto uncultivated in the parts of America partly occupied by savages. In view of the interpretation later given the Maryland

Charter by the partisans of Penn, it is interesting to note that before the grant of the Charter of Avalon, European fishermen had been scattered along the straight shore of Avalon much longer, and in far greater numbers, than had any settlers lived in the vague and half-mythical settlements on the Delaware before the grant of the Maryland Charter.

Cecil was, as his father was said to be, "animated with a laudable and pious zeal for extending the Christian religion and also the territories of our empire." To accomplish these purposes, he planned to transport a "numerous colony of the English Nation." As in the Charter of Avalon, the Proprietary was granted the patronage and advowsons of all churches which should be built in the Province; but, as Cecil was a Roman Catholic and George had been an Anglican in 1623, we find a clause added which would prevent the later Charter covering the establishment of the Roman Church, viz. : that Cecil might erect and found "churches, chapels and places of worship" and cause them to be "dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of our Kingdom of England."⁴ Baltimore and his son were now both Roman Catholics, and Gardiner is very plausible in the suggestion that these phrases "were intended to cover a secret understanding between Baltimore and the King. Charles could not, with any regard to the necessities of his position, make mention of his purposed toleration of the Papal Church in Maryland. Neither could he, if he meant to favor Baltimore's object, insert words in the charter compelling the sole establishment of the English Church. The clause as it stood would look like a provision for the maintenance of English Church forms, without being anything of the kind."

This Province was to be a Palatinate,⁵ with as extensive privileges as that of Durham, and the Lords Baltimore were made "true and absolute Lords and Proprietaries" thereof, "saving always the faith and allegiance *and sovereign dominion* due" to the English Crown. The emphasized words were not in the Avalon Charter, and were doubtless added to the Maryland Charter out of abundant caution in making a grant to a Roman Catholic peer. Avalon was to be held on knight service, Maryland on free and common socage, the annual payments being "two Indian

arrows of those parts" to be delivered at Windsor Castle "every year on Tuesday in Easter week, and one-fifth of the precious metals" found in the Province. We do not read that these precious metals enriched the royal exchequer, but the Indian arrows were paid for many years, and receipts for them are extant in the Calvert papers.⁶

For the Province of which he was made Lord Proprietary, Baltimore was given power to make laws "with the advice, assent and approbation of the freemen or of their delegates." The Avalon Charter had said "freeholders" and had no provision for a representative assembly, but only for a primary one. The laws extended to all persons within the Province, or sailing to or from it under his government. The powers to erect courts, to have cases tried therein and to pardon offenders were also given him, but a significant qualifying clause was inserted which had not appeared in the Avalon Charter: "that the laws aforesaid be consonant to reason and be not repugnant, or contrary, but (so far as conveniently may be) agreeable to the laws" of England. In case of emergency, when a legislature could not be assembled, Baltimore was given the power of making ordinances, which power the Stuarts claimed for themselves in England, but these ordinances must not only conform to the laws of England, but must not extend to taking away the right of any person "in member, life, freehold, goods, or chattels." All Englishmen were permitted to emigrate to Maryland, and their descendants were to be accounted "natives and liegemen" of the English King, having the right to enjoy all the privileges of Englishmen.⁷

The Charter of Avalon had permitted the exportation thither from English ports of all goods, wares, merchandise, and arms, free from any duty, provided that license be granted by the High Treasurer, or by six members of the Privy Council. The Maryland Charter substituted grain and other necessary things for food and clothing, said nothing of any special license being needed, but did not exempt goods transported to Maryland from the usual customs impositions. To avoid danger to the Province, Baltimore was given powers of the Captain-General of an army therein, and was authorized to exercise martial law. "Lest in so

remote and so far distant a region, every access to honours and dignities may seem to be precluded and utterly barred to men well born," the Proprietary was granted the power of conferring on his subjects any title or dignity except those used in England. He may also incorporate boroughs and cities. The products of Maryland may be imported into England and, within a year from the time of importation, reshipped to any foreign country in amity with England, without paying further tax than the Englishmen pay.⁸

In the ports of the Province, Baltimore was granted the impositions for merchandise there laden and unladen. The land of the Province was the Proprietary's, and he was allowed (in spite of the statute *Quia Emptores*) to grant it out on feudal tenure. He might also, as we shall see he did, "erect any parcels of land into manors," with the usual manor courts.⁹ The King promises that, at no time hereafter, will he or his successors levy "any impositions, customs, or other taxations" on the people of Maryland "for their good lands or tenements within the same Province." The Province was no longer to be a part of Virginia, but to be "immediately subject to" the Crown of England, and the Charter should always be interpreted, in doubtful cases, in the way "which shall be judged to be the more beneficial, profitable, and favorable to Lord Baltimore."

Such was the gift of a Palatinate to Cecil, Lord Baltimore, and so did the colonial projects of George, Lord Baltimore, come to a successful issue after his death. Under that Charter Maryland was governed for over one hundred years, and it ceased to be the Constitution of the Province only when that Province became a State, no longer dependent upon the Crown of England. Of the Charter, Chalmers wrote: "The authority¹⁰ conferred on Baltimore was truly royal; the immunities granted to the colonists were extremely extensive; but nothing was reserved to the King or the Nation except general sovereignty, that neither contained immediate superintendence nor insured necessary control. . . . Thus Maryland acquired the preëminence of being the first of all the Colonies which was professedly erected into a Province of the English Empire," and also "gave the first example of the establishment of a Province which should

enjoy equal rights and separate jurisdiction by the partition of a more ancient dominion."

Into the land which George Calvert asked of the King, Spaniards had gone during the sixteenth century, but the first detailed narrative of a journey into the Chesapeake Bay is that left by the redoubtable Captain John Smith in his *General History of Virginia*. In 1608, the year after the settlement of Virginia, he set forth from Jamestown, in an open barge of three tons burden, with seven gentlemen and seven soldiers, "to perform his discovery." Crossing the bay to the eastern shore and going up by Smith's Island, which is about two miles southeast of Cape Charles and still bears the Captain's name, they went to Accomack, the abode of an Indian tribe which spoke the language of Powhatan. Thence they went northward, by uninhabited islands which they called Russell's, from their physician's name, and which are probably Tangier or Watt's Islands in Virginia. Searching for fresh water, the expedition went to the river of Wighcocomico.¹¹ Here they entered the waters of Maryland; but whether the river be the Wicomico or the Pocomoke is uncertain; for on his map Smith clearly calls the latter river the Wighco. He also speaks of another river, which he calls the Santo Wighcomico, and this may be our Wicomico. "The Indians there, at first, with great fury seemed to assault us, yet at last, with songs and dances and much mirth, became very tractable," says Captain Smith. Leaving the wooded mainland, he again sailed to Russell's Island, finding the coast composed of low, broken isles of morass a mile or two in breadth and ten or twelve in length, "good to cut for hay in summer and to catch fish and fowl in winter." Among these islands, "the extremity of gusts, thunder, and rainstorms and ill-weather," forced the voyagers to remain for two days, so they gave them the name of Limbo. They are probably Smith's and Holland's Islands. The mast and sail blew overboard and the crew had great difficulty in bailing out "that small barge," so that she should not sink. After the storm they repaired their sail with their shirts, and sailing east to the mainland came to the "Cuskarawaock," "a pretty convenient river," which Bozman, with much probability, identifies with the Nanticoke. At this point, the people,

a race of little stature and very rude, showed hostility and shot arrows at the party. The next day, "they came unarmed, with every one a basket, dancing in a ring to draw us on shore;" but, fearing villainy, the Englishmen discharged a volley of muskets, at which the Indians fell to the ground and crept into a great cluster of reeds. Towards evening, Smith and his party landed and discharged five or six shots among the reeds. They found many of the baskets and much blood, but no Indians. On the other side of the river a smoke was seen, and rowing thither, the party left beads and other trinkets on the bank. Early the next morning four savages who had been fishing on the bay and knew nothing of what had passed, came in canoes to the sailboat. Smith used them "with such courtesy," that they bade the English stay till they returned, which they did with some twenty more. After a little further conference, a multitude appeared, whom Smith estimated at two to three thousand, and every one presented the Virginians with something, "feeling well requited with a little bead." They also told of a great nation called the Massawomacks, whom Bozman thinks were the Iroquois. "Finding the eastern shore shallow, broken isles, and for the most part without fresh water," Smith passed by the straits of Limbo, now called Hooper's Straits, and sailed to the "great high cliffs on the other side," which they called Riccard's. Turning to the north, he calculated he sailed about thirty leagues by an uninhabited country, "well watered, but mountainous and barren, the valleys very fertile but extreme thick of small wood, as well as trees, and much frequented with wolves, bears, deer, and other wild beasts." Passing many shallow creeks, they came to the Bolus River, which they named because they thought the clay by the high-water mark, lying in "red and white knots as gum out of trees," was "bole-armoniack and *terra sigillati*." We now call the stream the Patapsco.

They had "lien in this small barge" about two weeks, "oft tired at the oars, our bread spoiled with wet, so much that it was rotten," and the company importuned the Captain to return. He delayed two or three days and then yielded, since three or four fell sick and their "pitiful complaints" caused the party to return from a point where the bay was some nine miles broad,

which Bozman conjectures is about opposite Pool's Island. They dropped down the Potomac (or Patawomek, as Smith called it), went some distance up that river, stopping at several points — Moyaonies, near Broad Creek, in Prince George's County; Nacochtant, near the mouth of the Eastern Branch, in the District of Columbia, and the village of the Toags or Doages, which was probably near Indian or Maryland Point, in Charles County. Smith also speaks of Secowocomoco, probably the Wicomico River; of Potopaco, which became corrupted into Port Tobacco, and of Pamacacack, and wrote that, beyond his turning point, "the river maketh his passage down a low, pleasant valley, overshadowed in many places with high rocky mountains, from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant springs." He had found roanoke and wampum along the Nanticoke, where the best furs were also found, taken from the animals trapped in the marshes bordering the river. Many fish were seen, and there was a possibility that "our bay had stretched into the South Sea." From the Potomac, they returned to Jamestown, Captain Smith being badly poisoned by a sting-ray on the way. This incident gave name to Stingray Point and Antipoison Creek, where he found an antidote.

On July 24th, he again "embarked himself to finish his discovery." Twelve men were with him, half of them gentlemen and half soldiers. With absolute disregard of superstition, the party numbered thirteen. Four of the gentlemen and as many of the soldiers had been on the former expedition.¹³ Contrary winds delayed Smith two or three days at Kecoughtan or Hampton, where the King feasted the party, being persuaded that the Virginians were going to attack the Massawomeks. Hurrying by the Potomac and the Patuxent, and passing the Bolus or Patapasco, they found the bay soon divided into four heads, "all of which we searched so far as we could sail them." He first entered the Susquehanna, on which lived the Susquehannocks, the inveterate foes of the Iroquois, and probably came into Principio Creek and either Elk or Northeast Rivers. Two-thirds of the party were of those who had come from England that spring, and "were sick almost to death, until they were seasoned to the country." Crossing the bay in this distressing condition, they

met near Spesutia Island seven or eight canoes filled with Massawomeks, who prepared to assault them. Smith and his party left their oars and boldly made way with their sail to make battle. The sick men were shut under the tarpaulin, their hats placed on sticks and between each two hats a man with two guns was placed, "to make us seem many." The Indians fled to the shore and there stayed, while the barge sailed on and "anchored right against them." After a while, Smith induced them to believe in his friendly intentions and "they sent two of their company unarmed in a canoe." These were presented each with a bell, and they "brought aboard all their fellows," who presented Smith with "venison, bear flesh, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets, and bear skins." The whites and Indians did not understand each other's language, but the latter showed fresh wounds, which they received in recent conflict with the Tockwoghs, who dwelt on the Sassafra River. After their encounter, the Massawomeks went up Bush River, which Smith called the Willoughby, and the English, crossing the bay again, explored the Tockwogh or Sassafra River. There the "savages, all armed in a fleet of boats, after their barbarous manner, round environed the English." A friendly parley followed, as one of the Indians knew the language of Powhatan. Smith said that the Massawomek weapons he had were taken in warfare, and as this pleased the people, they took him and his party to "their palisadoed town, mantled with the bark of trees, with scaffolds like mounts breasted about with breasts very formidably."

At this place, probably in the vicinity of Georgetown, in Kent County, the Indians kindly welcomed the Virginians, spread mats for them to sit on, exerted "their best abilities to express their love," and gave "dances, songs, fruits, furs, and what they had." They showed Smith hatchets, knives, pieces of iron and brass, which they obtained from the Susquehannocks, and the latter probably from French traders to the north. From the Tockwogh village, Smith returned to the Susquehanna and going up to the rapids above Port Deposit, he sent interpreters to the Susquehannock village on the river, "two days' journey higher," to induce the Indians to visit him. After a few days, "sixty of those giant-like people came down with presents of venison, to-

bacco, pipes three feet in length, baskets, targets, bows, and arrows." Five of their chief werowances, or sachems, came boldly on board Smith's barge and sailed in it for the Sassafras, the wind being so high that the canoes dared not cross. The Susquehannocks asked Smith, whom they seem to have treated with great reverence or worship, to "defend and revenge them of the Massawomeks," but he left them sorrowing at the Tockwogh village, with a promise to revisit them in the next year. Of these skin-clad chiefs Smith tells marvelous tales, especially of one the calf of whose leg was three-fourths of a yard in circumference and who wore his hair with the one side long and the "other shore close, with a ridge over his crown like a cock's comb." The same promise to return Smith made to the people of Patuxent, "very tractable and more civil than any," and to the Patawomeks on his return.

These were two remarkable voyages, and the excellent map drawn by Smith as the result thereof is a marvel of accuracy, when we consider the meagre data he had to go upon. The chief defect in his explorations and in his map was in the coast of the eastern shore, between the Sassafras and the Nanticoke, which he did not traverse, and of which his ideas were vague. He speaks of the Ozinies who lived on the Chester River, and draws three islands. The northernmost of these is doubtless Kent Island, of whose natives, the Mattapeakes,¹⁴ he does not seem to have heard. The other two are probably really the mainland of Talbot and Dorchester Counties. In true explorer's spirit, where "furthest we came up the rivers, we cut in trees so many crosses as we could, and in many places made holes in trees, wherein we writ notes, and in some places crosses of brass, to signify to any, Englishmen had been there." In a proper pride in his achievement, Smith wrote: "We lay about twelve weeks upon those great waters, in those unknown countries, having nothing but a little meal, oatmeal and water to feed us, and scarce half sufficient of that half of the time, but what provision we got among the savages and such roots and fishes we caught by accident and God's direction; nor had we a mariner, nor any had skill to trim the sails but two sailors and myself, the rest being gentlemen or them as were as ignorant in such toil and

labor. Yet necessity, in a short time, by good words and examples, made them do that, that caused them ever after to fear no colors. What I did with this small means I leave to the reader to judge and the map I made of the country, which is but small matter in regard to the magnitude thereof."

From these early narratives and other sources we learn that the soil of Maryland was then occupied by the Nanticokes and their kindred tribes, who were thought by Heckewelder to be of the Lenne Lenape or Delaware stock; by the Tockwoghs and Susquehannocks, who were enemies to the Massawomeks or Iroquois; by the Shawnees in the extreme west; and by the Powtuxants or Patuxents in Southern Maryland. The last named seem to have been of Powhatan's confederacy,¹⁵ and were visited by Master John Pory, Secretary of Virginia, in 1620. Pory's visit was paid to Namenacus, the King of Pawtuxent, in response to an invitation extended by the latter when he came to Virginia. The chief and his brother Wamenato dwelt at At-toughcomoco, which Bozman identifies with a point on the north side of the Patuxent River, nearly opposite Cole's inspection house. The Indians came aboard Pory's vessel shortly after his arrival and brought "a brass kettle, as bright without as within, full of broiled oysters." The next day Pory and the two chiefs went hunting. Wamanato took Pory first to his house, where he showed him his wife and children and "many cornfields." They hunted in the woods for about two miles, and then the elder chief, Namenacus, brought Pory home "and used me as kindly as he could, after their manner. The next day he presented me with twelve beaver skins and a canoe, which I requited with such things to his content that he promised to keep them while he lived and bury them with him being dead." Pory showed him the Bible and aroused his wonder by telling him it was the law of God, and when the first chapter of Genesis was expounded the sachem replied that he "was like Adam in one thing, for he never had but one wife at once." The next day the two sachems with their peoples came aboard, but "brought nothing according to promise." Savage, the interpreter, then reproached Namenacus with "the breach of three promises, viz.: not in giving him a boy nor corn, though they had plenty, nor Montapass,

a fugitive called Robert Marcum, that had lived five years among those northerly natives." Montapass probably was an Englishman who had taken an Indian name on fleeing to the woods, as Bozman thinks. Namenacus "cunningly answered by excuses." Wamanato was thought by Pory guiltless of this falsehood, and tokens were exchanged with him after a short dialogue, in which Pory asked him if he desired to be great and rich. "He answered they were things all men aspired unto, which I told him he should be, if he would follow my counsel." Wamanato secured the return of some stolen articles, interchanged presents with the Englishmen, and gave them a guide, "that he called brother, to conduct us up the river."

On the way up stream, the expedition met with several that told them of Marcum. They found the country very hot, though it was in October, and the corn already gathered, before that had been done at Jamestown. On the river, at Assacomico, an unidentified place, the chief Cassatowap appeared. He had formerly quarrelled with Savage but now seemed reconciled, and with another werowance went on the boat towards Mattapanient, on the south side of the Patuxent near its mouth. There they persuaded the Virginians to disembark "upon the point of a thicket." Fearing treachery, Pory soon returned to his boat, and before he had gone far from the shore, "a multitude of savages sallied out of the wood with all the ill words and signs of hostility they could." Desiring to convert the Indians by courtesy, the Virginians set the werowances at liberty, finding them "very civil and subtile," and sailed away to the eastern shore.

Patowmack Town, or Patowmeke,¹⁷ was visited by Captain Argall in 1610, in a time of great scarcity in Virginia, to trade for corn, which he obtained from "those kind savages" through the good offices of Henry Spilman, a young Englishman whose life had been preserved by Pocahontas's kindness. From that time on, trade with the aborigines on the Potomac was no uncommon thing,¹⁸ and in 1622 Captains Raleigh, Crashaw and Ralph Hamor joined the Potomac chief in an attack on his enemies, the Nacochtanks, who were seated on the Maryland side of the river in what is now Prince George's County, just below the eastern branch. The English and their native allies, after

a long skirmish, killed eighteen of the Nacochtanks, drove the rest out of their town, Moyaonies, which they plundered, took away what booty they wanted, and "spoiled the rest." Later in the year, Captain Madison, with two vessels, went up the river to the site of this town, and in a subsequent expedition massacred a number of the Potomacs in their town.

In the twenty-two years which elapsed between the settlement of Jamestown and that of Kent Island, there were doubtless many such expeditions whose record is lost, by which contact between Indians and Europeans an extensive trade in furs developed, and the geography of the Chesapeake Bay became well understood. It was no unknown country that was settled, when Claiborne and Baltimore planned their colonies.

An expedition to the western shore was made by Fleet and Claiborne, between May and July, 1632.¹⁹ Passing Yaocomoco, where St. Mary's City was to be, Fleet came to the Nacostines, or Anacostians, near the site of the city of Washington. These Indians were hostile to the Powhatans and were protected by the Massawomeks, or Iroquois. Thence Fleet sent his brother with two trusty Indians seven days' journey to the north, to some of the Iroquois settlements, to open trade there. The terminus of Fleet's voyage was a point six miles below the great falls of the Potomac, a place "without all question the most pleasant and healthful place in all this country and most convenient for habitation; the air temperate in summer and not violent in winter." He praises the abundance of fish, deer, buffaloes, bears, and turkeys.

"The Relation of 1635" tells of a difficulty with the Indians in 1634. Some Susquehannocks and Wicomesses met at Kent, or Monoponson, Island to trade. The tribes were enemies, and one of the Susquehannocks injured a Wicomesse, "whereat some of Claiborne's people laughed." The Wicomesses, feeling that they were injured and despised, laid an ambush for the Susquehannocks on their return and killed five of them, and then killed three of the Kent Islanders and some of their cattle. About two months later, the Wicomesses sent a messenger to Leonard Calvert "to excuse the fact and to offer satisfaction" for the harm that was done to the English. A Patuxent Indian came with

the messenger as an intermediary, and the deed was excused as a hasty deed of some of the young men, for which the whole tribe should not be held accountable. Calvert accused the Wicomesses of a second injury attempted since upon some of Baltimore's people, and demanded that the perpetrators of the outrage be delivered to him for punishment, the plunder also being restored. The Wicomesse said that their custom was to redeem the life of a man that is slain with one hundreds arms' lengths of roanoke and the Marylanders, being strangers, should conform to the custom of the country. Calvert repeated his demand and dismissed the Indian, but we have no record that the tribe made redress.

In the early narratives of the Maryland settlers are interesting accounts of the aborigines who dwelt on the shores of that great bay which has well been said to be almost as much a river as a bay, just as some of its estuaries are almost as much bays as rivers. Like a centipede, its arms thrust themselves far into the land on either side, and on their shores dwelt the barbarous people whom the English people of the Province found. Father White called them "very proper and tall men,"²⁰ by nature swarthy but much more by art, painting themselves with colors in oil a dark red, especially about the head, which they do to keep away the gnats, wherein I confess there is more ease than honesty." They had almost beardless faces, on which they drew "long lines with colors from the sides of their mouth to their ears." Sometimes the whole face was painted "with great variety and in ghastly manner," for example "blue from the nose downward and red upward." Their black hair was worn diversely. Some, like Smith's Susquehannock werowance, cut that on half of the head short, but most wore it long, brought up in a knot at the left ear, or at both ears, and then tied with a "string of wampumpeake or roanoke." The caucorouses, or great men, wore a fish of copper on their foreheads. About their necks, both sexes wore beads, or a necklace of hawks' bills, eagles' talons, the teeth of beasts or a pair of great eagle wings. Their clothing was of mantles made of deer skins and other furs, below which was worn by adults "a perizomata or round apron" around the loins. The children often ran about entirely naked,

Their weapons were bows and arrows. The latter were "an ell long, feathered with turkeys' feathers and headed with points of deers' horns, pieces of glass, or flints, which they make fast with an excellent glue." With these arrows, though the bow was weak and could "shoot level but a little way," the Indians of the Potomac caught partridges, deer, turkeys and squirrels, and achieved such skill that Father White saw them "kill, at twenty yards' distance, little birds of the bigness of sparrows." They practised by "casting up small sticks into the air and meeting them with an arrow before they came to ground." In wars, tomahawks were also used. Their houses, or witchotts, were built in an half oval form, from twenty to one hundred feet long, about twelve feet broad, and nine or ten feet high, with an opening half a yard square in the top to let in the light and "let forth the smoke, for they built their fire after the manner of ancient halls in England, in the middle of the house, about which they lie to sleep upon mats spread on a low scaffold half a yard from ground." The houses were covered with platted mats or bark of trees and were clustered in villages. The people were hospitable and of a "grave comportment and silent." At meals each man was served in a separate wooden dish, in which was placed his portion of the common feast. Their diet was corn-pone and hominy, with fish, fowl and venison at times. Father White found them "very temperate from wines and hot waters and will hardly taste them, save those whom our English have corrupted." (Alas! in Maryland, as everywhere, the coming of Europeans brought drunkenness).

The natives' chastity was equal to their temperance. After two months' experience with them, Father White wrote: "I never saw any action in man or woman tending so much as to levity, and yet the poor souls are daily with us." The kings and great men had separate cabins, containing a bed of skins well dressed, set on boards with four stakes into the ground. The tribes were governed by customs, which were administered by the werowance or chief, assisted by his council or wisoes. Succession to the chiefship went to his sons in turn and then to the sons of his daughters, "for they hold that the issue of the daughters hath more of his blood in them than the issue of his

sons." The youths obeyed the elders and all obeyed the caucouses, or war captains, "but the werowance himself plants corn, makes his own bow and arrows, his canoe, his mantle, shoes, and whatever else belongs to him, as any other common Indian, and, commonly, the commanders are the best and most ingenious and active in all those things which are in esteem among them."

Polygamy and divorce were lawful, but the wives all kept "the rigour of conjugal faith to their husbands." The women's "very aspect was modest and grave" and they were so noble that they would receive no favor without making return. They "stand constantly to their resolution." Father White did well to cry out: "If these were once Christian, they would doubtless be a virtuous and renowned nation." They seemed to him to desire "civil life and Christian apparel," and he thought the greed of traders was the only thing which kept them from possessing the latter. The women served their husbands, making bread, dressing meat and fish, making mats for beds and covering of the houses, as well as baskets of rushes, and very handsome baskets of silk grass.

The settlers thought they saw traces that the Potomac Indians acknowledged one God of Heaven, but that their chief worship was to please an Okee, or evil spirit. The Indians had a tradition of Noah's flood, and of a future life of reward to the good and punishment to the evil. A ceremony is described which took place in the matchcomaco, or place of counsel, of the Patuxents and was seen by some English traders. A great fire was built, and about stood the youth from all the towns, their elders being behind them. A little deer suet was cast into the fire and all lifted their hands to heaven, crying: "Taho, taho!" Then a great bag of tobacco and a large pipe were brought forth and carried about the fire, a youth following "with great variety of gesture of body," and uttering the same cry. The pipe was then filled and passed around, each one breathing his smoke upon the limbs of his own body, as if "to sanctify them to the service of their god."

Alsop,²¹ who wrote of the Susquehannocks nearly thirty years later, calls them "the most noble and heroic nation of Indians that dwell upon the Continent of America," and like Smith, was

impressed by their great size, "the men being for the most part seven feet high." He tells of their painting and tattooing their bodies and that they go naked save for a linen cloth. Their war dances, torturing and scalping of captives, their courage and cannibalism are all described by Alsop, who thought that "the Devil is all the god they worship." Their women tilled the ground, while the men were engaged in hunting and warfare. The dead warriors were buried in a sitting posture, facing westward, in a hole five feet long and three feet deep, covered with bark. With them were interred their bows, arrows and targets, and a kettle of broth and corn, lest they "should meet with bad quarters" on their way.

BERNARD C. STEINER.

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APPENDIX

1. For Cecilius Calvert's Life see Hall's "Lords Baltimore" (Lecture II); Browne's "George and Cecilius Calvert."

2. Third Maryland Archives, Coun. (p. 18). I Chalmers's "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies" (p. 63), calls attention to the fact that Claiborne never alleged that the patent of Maryland was surreptitiously obtained, nor that the previous settlement of the Dutch was concealed by Baltimore.

3. The original Latin of Maryland's Charter is printed in Bacon's "Laws of Maryland," and an English translation there given is taken almost as authoritative. This translation is printed in the annual *Maryland Manual*, in the reprint of "The Relation of 1635" (pp. 75 and ff.), and in II Bozman's "Maryland" (p. 9). The English text of the Charter of Avalon is printed in I Scharf (p. 34). See II S. T. Wallis's Works, (p. 97), "Mr. Neill on the Maryland Charter." Davis's "Day Star" (p. 26 and ff.), discusses the phrases "Holy Church" and "true Christian religion" and toleration and religious establishment under the Charter. In Streeter's "Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago" (p. 71), there is a long discussion of the proper translation of *sacrosancta Dei et vera Christiana religio*, claiming that the ordinary translation, "God's holy and true Christian religion," is wrong, and that it should be translated "the holy

service of God and true Christian religion." Brantz Mayer's translation was "God's holy rights and the true Christian religion." On the Maryland boundary, see II Bozman (p. 617). On the proprietary Province as a form of colonial government, see Osgood's article in *Second American Historical Review* (July, 1897, p. 644), and his work in three volumes on "The American Colonies" (1905). See also S. Lucas's "Charters of the English Colonies in America" (1850, p. 87). On the disturbances in Virginia over the grant of the Maryland Charter, see Eighth *Virginia Magazine* (pp. 147-161).

4. March 26th, 1584. Raleigh's Virginia Patent had no boundaries, but gave "free liberty to search for and find such barbarous lands, not possessed by any Christian people, as to him might seem good and the same to occupy and enjoy forever." Gardiner (Eighth "History of England," p. 179) says: "The retention of the exact phrases used in the Newfoundland Charter requires some explanation. When inserted in the grant made in 1632 to a Secretary of State who was still a member of the English Church, they would undoubtedly act as the establishment of that Church in the Colony, though it would be an establishment arising rather from the goodwill of the authorities of the settlement than from any words in the Charter itself. The proprietor was empowered to found churches and to have them consecrated according to the laws of the Church of England, if he chose to do so; but there was nothing to compel him to do this unless he pleased, or to prevent him from founding other Catholic or Nonconformist places of worship by the side of the churches consecrated after the directions of the Charter. It is impossible to suppose that words so vague in their meaning were reinserted in the Maryland Charter without due deliberation." VIII Gardiner's "History of England" says: "Holy Church" was never to my knowledge applied to the Church of England after the Reformation. Vide also I Anderson's "Colonial Charters" (p. 477).

5. For the use of the phrase "Palatine in America," see an interesting article by Albert Matthews in *The Nation* (Vol. 78, February 18, 1904, p. 127). See also Series Nine *Notes and Queries* (Vol. 12, p. 347). Brantly, in III Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America" (p. 522), well says of the Maryland Charter: "If it be true that the powers given to the Proprietary were greater than those ever conferred on any other Proprietary, it is equally true that the rights secured to the inhabitants were greater than in any other charter which had then been granted."

6. Rhode Island was held by a Kentish tenure, that of the manor of East Greenwich, so that lands of criminals did not escheat in that Colony by the Charter of 1663.. See S. S. Rider's articles in *Twenty-Second Book Notes* (p. 25), on the consideration of the land tenure clauses as they exist in the Charter of Maryland and in the Charter of Rhode Island. On the holding of the Province according to the Manor of East Greenwich, see E. P. Cheyney's article in *The American Historical Review* for October, 1905, and the attack on it by Rider in *Twenty-Second Book Notes* (p. 158). Hall, after going over the Calvert papers, reports ("Lords Baltimore" p. 63) that he finds extant receipts for arrow heads from 1633 to 1750, signed by the Governor or Constable of Windsor Castle, or by some one as his representative in the King's name, save during the Protectorate and in 1660, when the receipt is signed by Gen. Monk for the Commonwealth of England. The arrows were usually delivered by the hands of a servant or messenger but, on April 16th, 1661, Cecilius presented them in person. The extensive character of Baltimore's powers may be seen from the grant by the Crown on February 16, 1638-39, to Henry, Lord Maltravers (Eleventh *Virginia Historical Magazine*, p. 174), of a royal license to issue farthings for twenty-one years, in all the King's royal plantations except Maryland. On the powers of the Bishop of Durham, see Lapsley's "Palatinate of Durham."

7. The citizens of Avalon were denizens and liegemen, but were given the same privileges.

8. In Avalon, a period of ten years was set, during which no tax at all should be paid. Baltimore had the right to declare what places in the Province of Maryland should be ports of entry, but, with a curious remembrance of the fisheries of Newfoundland, there was saved to all Englishmen and Irishmen "the liberty of fishing for seafish in the seas, rivers, and harbors, and drying fish on the shores." A clause is added (not in the Avalon Charter) permitting fishermen to build huts and cabins necessary for drying fish.

9. These last two provisions were not in the Avalon Charter.

10. I Chalmers's "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies" (pp. 60-63).

11. Smith's "General History of Virginia" (Chapter V), reprinted in I Scharf, (p. 6). The names of the party were: Captain John Smith, Dr. Walter Russell, Ralph Morton, Thomas Momford, William Cantrill, Richard Fetherstone,

James Burne, Michael Sicklemore, gentlemen; and Jonas Profit, Anas Todkill, Robert Small, James Watkins, John Powell, James Reade, Richard Kale, soldiers. See I Bozman's "Maryland" (p. 104).

12. He tells a story of finding a hot spring on Ployer's (probably Watkins's) Point.

13. Dr. Anthony Bagnall, Mr. Nathaniel Powell, Edward Pising and Wm. Ward, soldiers, were the new men. Dr. Walter Russell, Mr. Ralph Morton, and Mr. William Cantrill; Robert Small, John Powell and James Reade, soldiers, were on the first and not on the second voyage.

14. See George L. L. Davis's article on the Mattapeaks and other Indians of Kent Island, in the *Baltimore American* for May 18th, 1853. III Tooker's Algonquian Series translates Susquehanna as *Sasquesat + hannogh*, breaking into pieces, *i. e.*, booty + men; and Chesapeake as *K'che + sepi* or *sipi + ack* = great + river + place. The Iroquois name for Maryland was Jaquokranogase.—(First "Documentary History of New York," p. 401).

15. See extended discussion of the Maryland Indians in I Bozman's "Maryland" (pp. 160 and ff.).

16. Smith inserted Pory's narrative into his History, and I Bozman's "Maryland" (pp. 148 and ff.), reprints it with his usual and valuable notes.

17. II Smith's "General History of Virginia" (p. 177).

18. II Bozman's "Maryland" (p. 566).

19. See Neill's "Founders of Maryland" (pp. 22 and ff.); "English Colonization" (pp. 222 and ff.). For Fleet, see *Second Virginia Magazine* (p. 70).

20. Thirty-fifth Maryland Historical Society Fund Publications (pp. 42-45); "Relation of 1634" (pp. 15-20); "Relation of 1635."

21. "Character of the Province of Maryland" (pp. 71 and ff.).

22. "Relation of 1635" (pp. 41 and ff.). Wampumpeag, says the writer, is three times the value of roanoke, and both are made of a fish shell, *i. e.*, that of the clam. See W. V. Murray's "Dictionary of the Nanticoke Language" edited by Brinton in Proceedings American Philosophical Society. J. G. Shea identifies the Susquehannas (Second *Historical Magazine*, p. 295), with the Andastes (the French name), the Minquas (the Dutch term), and the Conestogues (the Pennsylvania title), and gives a history of the tribe.